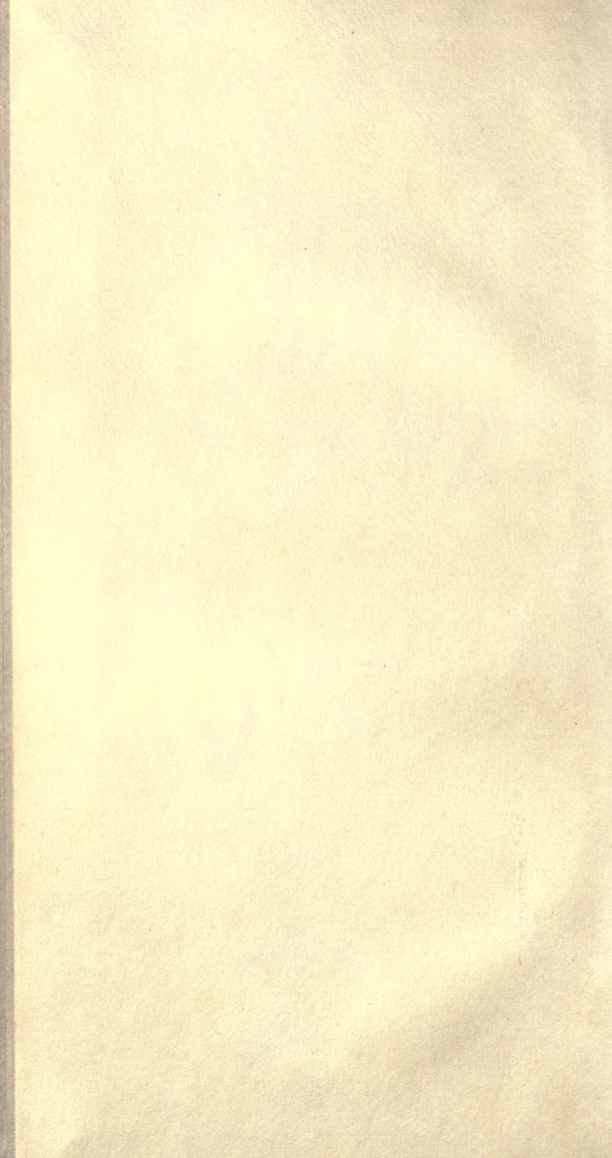


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THE
CONDUCT
OF THE
KING OF PRUSSIA
AND
GENERAL DUMOURIER,

INVESTIGATED BY

LADY WALLACE.

Wallace, Antine (Donwell) Lady

Nothing extenuate nor set down aught in malice.

SHAKESPEARE.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. DEBRETT, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON
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No apology can be offered for laying any uncorrect publication before you, except that you should judge it one; an anxiety to offer facts to your perusal so soon after the appearance of General Dumourier, had more immediately recalled the subject to your notice.

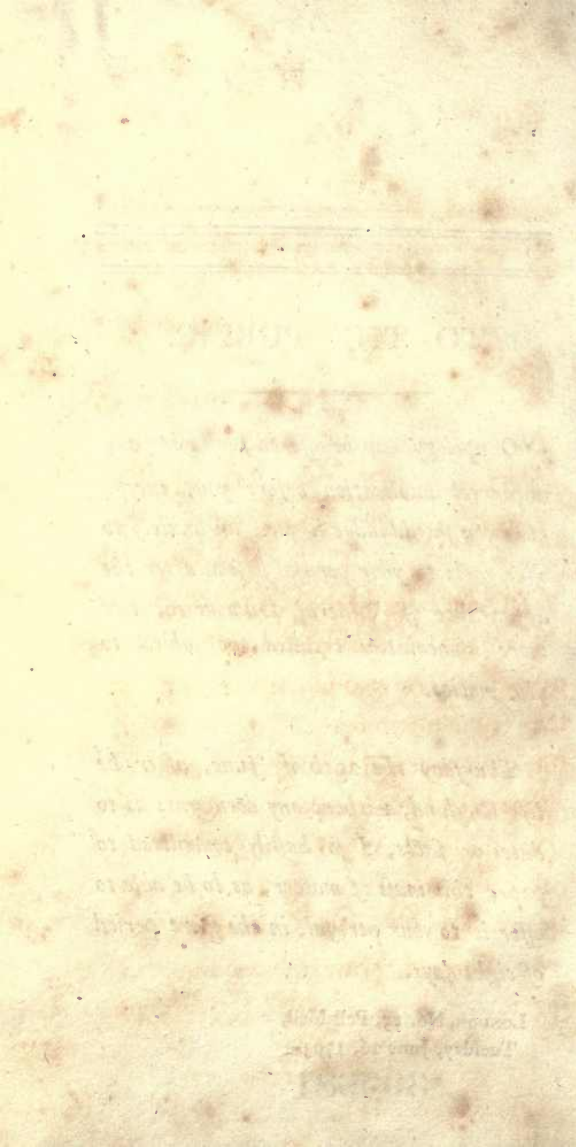
APR 26 1938

Thursday the 20th of June, after he left England, without any documents as to dates or facts, I so hastily committed to paper this mass of matter, as to be able to offer it to your perusal, in the short period of eight days.

HARDING

LONDON, No. 55, Pall Mall,
Tuesday, June 26, 1793.

300981



I DO not take up my pen to vindicate myself in the opinion of hireling news-papers, who, canibal like, live upon the reputation of those that support them. No—despising all character which either can be purchased, or defamed, for three shillings and six-pence, I should think resentment, or any other feeling but that of cool contempt, beneath those, who satisfied with the rectitude of

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their

their own conduct, upon finding themselves traduced — But desirous to explain to the respectable part of mankind the circumstances which have justified even the report, that I had any intercourse with the unfortunate, uncorruptible hero of Jemappe—I think it necessary to clear myself from every possible appearance of disloyal principles, or conduct: and, in so doing, I trust I shall be able, by incontestable proofs, to wipe off from General Dumourier's reputation a great degree of unmerited odium, with which the intrigues of various parties have found convenient for themselves most unjustly to load him.

Had Dumourier been a republican, I should have despised his conduct, and
have

have execrated his principles; but he swore allegiance only to the Constitution of 1789. Had he ever published any declaration that he would put the *Bonnet Rouge* upon our Sovereign's head, erect the Tri-couleur Flag on the Tower of London, or land his Sans Culottes at the Thames, I should have been the first and loudest to cry vengeance on him; and to have said that his presence insulted and degraded the English nation. But such a declaration he never made; and his whole opinions and professions have ever been filled with respect for the English, and a firm and decided wish to be allied, and to see France so fortunate as to possess a similar constitution. Had he not done every thing, which his limited powers would permit, to save his King from a cruel

death, and his unhappy family from humiliation, I should have shuddered in abhorrence of his treason; and I myself have proved a traitor to the sentiment and feeling of honour, loyalty, and justice, which has ever filled my breast, and dictated every action of my life, had I held any intercourse with him. But positively certain that he was incapable of, and perfectly innocent of all these accusations, I should equally now think myself mean, dastardly, and ungenerous, to renounce, when overwhelmed with the dark clouds of fortune, a brave man, whom I can prove innocent of those treasons and crimes laid to his charge. Dumourier was a distinguished officer in the French service 40 years before those intestine discontents; my sentiments, which

which I have already given to the Public, in a letter to my son, in 1791, will sufficiently vindicate the justice of my principles, my respect for good order, and a monarchical government; as well as my detestation of those crimes and depravities, produced by the brutal anarchy which disgraces France.

Upon the sources of those commotions, I have also given my opinion.

It must have appeared to every person of common understanding, that much reform was wanting in the corrupt and despotic government of France; which reform, the benevolence of Louis the XVIth, was as sincerely interested in bringing

bringing about, as the most oppressed of his subjects could be. He ever shewed that the general comfort and prosperity of all ranks of his people was his dearest wish ; and the having mistaken the *method* to accomplish that wish, but no deviation from it in *intention*, cost him his life, his family their liberty, and all Europe the most heartfelt sorrow and regret !

In accepting the constitution of 1789, pleased with the advantages the people at large would derive from it, he forgot (and no wonder he should !) those nobles, so many of whom fled at the first *appearance* of danger ; for their flight *alone* caused his danger.—Had they staid, the undisciplined mob, at that time collected at Paris, which was in
 numbers

numbers nothing equal to some London mobs, would have been with the same facility disbanded ; had the French nobility, with English courage, faced them. Especially, as it is very known, that hardly any of the crew were impelled by passion to assemble, but were paid by the base atrocity of Egalité, whom I had the honor to be the first to denounce to the English nation ; submitting calmly to all that resentment and calumny which some of his great and powerful friends have never ceased to exercise against me :—happy if I could caution any of my countrymen against such a miscreant, or render his practices abhorrent to my country.

Had these unfortunate fugitives possessed as little ambition as their generous
king,

king, they would, without repining, have submitted to make a similar sacrifice for the well being of the community in general; as the nobility of England had set them the example, with a magnanimity which sets the English far above any of those nobles, enriched by oppressing the people, and nursed only by exactions on their labours.

The respect and free-will of an happy people, render aristocracy in England honorable, in a degree which the sentiments of slavish oppression, in the days of despotism, never knew.

But most of those nobles, unwilling to resign the only means they had of supporting their splendor, being ignorant of, and too proud to adopt those re-
sources

sources, which to the honor of our greatest men when impoverished, they seek an independence by,---either in commerce, or the emoluments earned in the service of their country; and knowing that the good hearted King would feel wretched at the remonstrances, arising from the unhappiness of any part of his subjects, they lost no time to seduce him thus to renounce the Constitution: which, from that same benevolence, he had sworn to support, and which he had engaged the less ambitious of his nobility, and his friends, to maintain.

Over his receding from that Constitution, I wish historians could draw a veil; since a mixture of pity for his revolting nobles—fears for the villainous plots daily concerted by Egalité,

C

whose

whose malignant spirit of revenge for a former flight, and views of aggrandizement, certainly placed the Royal Family in perpetual danger of becoming victims, to all those motives which operate forcibly on weak minds, and impelled the King to attempt to fly.

Some men, after having pledged themselves by an oath, which ought to be held sacred to God and man, would have died rather than recede from it; but in the convulsion of affairs much might have been represented with exaggeration to him, and the anxieties natural for the safety of his family must, if not exculpate his weakness, at least prove that it arose from those sensibilities which did honor to his heart.

At

At that period, when the unfortunate King was made a prisoner on his flight, the Marquis de Bouillie imprudently published a manifesto, threatening the French nation with the immediate invasion of Foreign Powers ; and, by the doing so, before it was possible to carry his threats into execution, he increased not only the danger of the Royal Family's situation, but also gave energy to those traitors, which intrigued to mislead the people : and who by their arts involved all in anarchy, murders, and horrors, shocking to humanity !

The King imprisoned, all the honest citizens (for it were inhuman to suppose that in 30 millions of people there were none meriting that appellation) were obliged to live in silent inactivity, and

leave Paris a prey to assassins and blood-hounds ; whilst the army hastened to the frontiers to repel those enemies, who came not only to conquer France, but to subject them again to despotism, which they had sworn never again to submit.

As it is not the history of the war which I intend to write, but a very hurried sketch, taken in a few hours, of the part which General Dumourier had in it—

I shall begin by saying, that he remained in France, from thinking it the duty of every person to remain in his country in the hour of danger : a sentiment which had been fortunate, and for the tranquillity of Europe, had it been

been common to all Frenchmen. From his influence being very small,---unsupported by the eclat of high birth, without which abilities were of little estimation in France,---he knew he had little chance of having any sway in the government of the country, except he could so far distinguish himself in the eyes of Europe, as to acquire sufficient importance to engage Foreign Powers, to aid him in the saving his King and country, from lawless oppression. How far this, his first principle of action has been followed up, I will shew.

The conduct of the Combined Powers seemed inexplicable, to every person who was ignorant of the motives, by which they were actuated; certain it is, that I
declared

declared, upon hearing of the wonderful junction of Austria and Prussia, that I was persuaded their armies would never reach Paris ; although their forces were, if brought into action, infinitely superior to that of France ; and there are many nobles in London now, both Emigrants and English, who know, that before the campaign commenced, I told them every thing which happened during it ; and when at Spa, in the month of September, daily news came from the army, containing assurances of its being at Paris on a day appointed in that month, I still continued my infidelity ; and asserted, as my solemn opinion, that the Combined Armies would be, by that appointed day, back within the empire--which proved to be the case. This I wrote home, to cer-
tain

tain persons, with confidence; but official and positive accounts coming at the same time, my prophetic epistle was thrown aside, as the vision of a female fancy, till next courier developed the error of their official correspondent.

As I have not to boast the virtues of Joan de Arc, nor the second sight ascribed to some of my country people, I shall here state the motives which led me, upon my own reasoning, to give an opinion so contrary to that which was generally received.

Well informed of the treachery, intrigue, and selfish views, which have ever, alternately, aggrandized the despotic powers, I did not suppose the becoming an *illuminé* would blind the
King

King of Prussia to his interest (which evidently it never could be) that this invasion should succeed; and although he had so very suddenly turned from being the protector of revoltors, to be the chastizer of them, it did not hold that he was more sincere in the last, than in the first character; and it was permitted to suppose, without injury to his Majesty's reputation, that he would finally support which of the two parties he found for his interest: or prove inimical to both, upon the same principle.

I had certain evidence that he had given every assurance of succour to the Revolutionists at Leige; and had every reason to believe that he continued his promised aid, to free them from the yoke of priesthood, under which they repined and murmured;

murmured : not so much from real grievances, as from intriguing people who were sent amongst them with a view to dismember the House of Austria. They excited their imaginations to view their real causes of discontent, in so mortifying a light, that the load appeared of such gigantic magnitude, it was no longer to be borne. They had no grievances but what a liberal man of common address might have rendered very easy to them ; for being educated bigots, and their total subjection to their priests a matter of conscience, they, but for the arts of Prussia, would probably have remained in peaceable sufferance of their oppressive government.

When the Prince of Liege fled, and left them without a government, the

D

King

King of Prussia publicly protected the patriots ; the Emperor signified to him his wish to march some troops into the Austrian Netherlands, assuring him that they should only pass through the Liege country ; but when once they got the patriots to admit them, they staid : and declaring themselves masters, forced them to restore their former government. The Imperial army was then too formidable for the King of Prussia to dare to shew any public marks of resentment at such treachery, and nothing remained for him but to contrive some means to lessen that power which awed him ; that this was the only game he had to play was so evident, that it required but little penetration to foresee, that it would be the basis of his future system ; since, according to the old adage, it seems

to be allowed that every deceit is fair, in Love and War. Thus it ever appeared that the King of Prussia could only join with the Emperor in his hostile measures against France, to engage him in a campaign, which, proving unsuccessful, would destroy that formidable army which had ever been the terror of the North, and the object of jealous anxiety to the House of Brandenburg. Besides, he was not in a situation to be at liberty to ally himself with France at that moment, nor in good policy could he wish that France should be restored to tranquillity till she was completely enfeebled; or that some opportunity might offer in the convulsion of Continental politics, by which he might benefit by a separate alliance with her.—Another cause for his engaging in this

tham campaign was, the discontent, disorder, and bad discipline, the natural attendants upon a great army living in total idleness, after being innured to the rigorous activity by which Old Frederick kept them ever in movement, began to shew itself in such alarming symptoms at Berlin, that it became necessary for the internal tranquillity of the King's possessions, to remove these corrupt troops from his own territories, to pass the winter on the French or Austrian dominions; which advantage would nearly indemnify him for the expence of the campaign.

Had he declined taking an active part in the pretended invasion, he would have become the object of suspicion, and his secret schemes and views upon
Poland

Poland have been found out ; all of which appeared incredible, so long as he stood forth a champion for the restoration of the rights of Kings, and the despotism of Nobility. Besides, the Austrians, avowedly brave, well disciplined troops, with able generals, might, if he did not prevent it by directing the attack, perhaps chance to conquer the Sans Cullotes ; for the emigrants gave continual assurances that they were a cowardly banditti, without generals, who would trembling shrink from the sight of their nobles in arms. Had this been the case, it would have proved a fatal blow to Prussia. France subjected by Austria, Prussia must have speedily dwindled from the formidable power which Old Frederick had, by his intrepidity and successful intrigues, rendered it, into the
ancient

ancient petty dependance of the Electors of Brandenburg ; whilst upon the other hand, if the Combined Armies were baulked in their attempt, the Austrians were so posted as to become the chief sufferers, not only by the sword, but the Imperial Eagle would be sufficiently humbled and crest-fallen by the loss of the Netherlands : and that country, if not for ever lost, would be harassed and impoverished by being so long overrun by contending armies.

Before the invasion of France was attempted, La Fayette was general of the French army—and Dumourier minister of war ; La Fayette completely proved a traitor to his country, for he not only wished to betray it into the hands of its enemies, but to subject it again to despotism ; to facilitate which

base

base plan, he deluded the ministers and the nation, and for his crime Dumourier certainly would have suffered though totally innocent and ignorant of his plots — had he not, with that spirit and energy of character which he in a very singular degree possesses, in a moment resigned the administration to take the command of the army, thus critically exposed : by which bold measure, he not only was enabled to explain, but also to repair those errors caused by La Fayette's treacherous intention of leaving his defenceless country to be over-run by German enemies, and once more subjected to despotism, the oppression of which he with such enthusiastic rapture had abjured, and had exacted his countrymen to renounce for ever.

He

He had done better had he employed his insidious manners to quell the jarring interests which opposed the mild government the King had chosen, and to the having enforced in his mind cautions against the snares that would afterwards be laid to engage him to forget what he had sworn to his people ; whom La Fayette had the double tie to serve with fidelity, from the assurances which he every hour reiterated to them, of his incorruptible services to the cause of liberty and humanity ; and also from the implicit confidence placed in him by the patriots, who were led implicitly by him : which confidence it required a corrupted groveling mind, treacherously to deceive.

His character seems to have been such
a mixture,

a mixture, where vanity and infidelity predominated, that he weakly, without any steadiness, became, from the stoicism of patriotism, a victim to the tears of his lovely Queen, which either his sensibility or his vanity rendered irresistible—tears which flowed not from any regret for despotism resigned, but in terrors awakened by the treasons of Egalité, whom, had he boldly hurled with vengeance to just annihilation, all had been well!

Oh had La Fayette possessed that true energy and probity of character, which honest patriotism and independence of principles give, what miseries had he averted from those beauteous eyes!—what contempt and humiliation

E

to

to his own memory, which living interred, he is doomed to see recorded ! Had he encouraged that heroism of sentiment, which was unshaken in her bosom until that fatal period, and which, but for the selfish entreaties of the Emigrants, the noble, liberal heart of the Queen would ever proudly have exulted in ; because so decidedly for the comfort of the people, the aggrandizement of France, and the private tranquillity of herself and family.

The treason detected, the traitor fled, and being caught, was contemptuously imprisoned in the most rigorous and degrading manner, by those very powers who courted to seduce him. A lesson to those who unfortunately adopt a bad cause ;

cause; demonstrating that adherence to it is not, in politicks, esteemed so contemptible as the desertion of it.

Dumourier was ever a friend to the Royal Family, inasmuch as they made a part of that Constitution, which he has uniformly looked upon to be the most fitted to insure the prosperity of France: he was so from reason, as well as the loyalty of a mind not to be shaken by seduction, or by either ambition, or misfortune, seduced to treachery.

Upon the King's return to Paris after his attempts to leave France in July 1791, he was strictly guarded at the Thuilleries; the people were outrageous, at his attempt to emigrate, and rendered

more so by those artful subverters of all government, who represented him as intriguing to betray his country to the Austrians (the natural aversion of all Frenchmen) to re-establish that despotism which he had appeared to be the most ready to resign. These false aspersions had in some degree the appearance of truth, from the declaration made by the King of Prussia and the Emperor, signed the 27th of August; which was accompanied by a letter to the King of France from the Princes, and signed by his brother at Coblenz the 10th of Sept. 1791, and by the Duc de Bourbon, the Prince de Condé, and Duc D'Enghein, at Worms, the 11th of the same month,

In

In that letter they declare their certainty that he was not sincere in his acceptance of the Constitution; but that he was forced to it, and that he only waited the protection of foreign troops to re-establish the ancient Monarchy; which they assure him they will soon enable him to do, by the aid of all the despotic governments in Europe, who are to march a formidable army against France.--They also say, that as the King, upon his attempt to quit France, had disavowed all that he had done, they swear to perish all, before they will allow the nation to erect their monstrous Constitution upon the Monarchy of France; which they pledge themselves to re-establish, or die.

The manifesto of the Duc de Brunswick Lunenburg, given at the Head
Quarters

Quarters at Coblentz, the 25th of July, 1792, was decisive as to the fate of the much-lamented Louis XVI.--He therein desires that unhappy monarch, to name a town, to which he would wish to retire; and says that he will send an escort to conduct him to it, where he may in safety, and without any interruption, re-establish his monarchy, and chuse his ministers. He then promises the French, to employ force only against those who oppose him; and desires them peaceably to allow the Prussian and Austrian army to take possession of their country.

When I first read this curious production, I thought it was a satirical imposition some wag was putting upon the public, in the name of the Duke of Brunswick;

wick ; from whose reputation, which at that time stood high in record, for warlike virtues, it appeared impossible that any council could have tempted him to issue. From such language they must have foreseen, that the nation would treat the King, as guilty of having proved false, not only to his oath, but to the established government (which I am persuaded he never was), and consequently that they would overwhelm this unfortunate Monarch in the hatred and vengeance of his people ; a conduct the combined powers meant should justify their invasion of France, to which the nobles *alone* had invited them. For, the reformed government being the united wish of the people, and the King having solemnly accepted it—he
had

had too much piety, benevolence, and honour, to recede from it.

But for this colouring given to the attack upon France, it might have appeared unjust in the despots making war upon a country, because they chose a different government, or mode of worship from their's : if this was wisdom or justice, no wise heads, heaven be praised, lived in those days, when for the honour and happiness of Great Britain, we adopted that glorious Constitution, which, to establish on a firm basis, the noblest blood in England was spilt ; and in support of which, every honest heart would now shed its last drop, and will ever cherish with affection and reverence.

The

The frenzy which this Manifesto caused at Paris, and the horrors and murders which ensued, will eternally disgrace the name of **Frenchman**. In vain the assassins attempt to exculpate themselves, for having made seas of blood to flow, of even innocent babes ; because they were the children of parents, whom they were persuaded, had formed the base resolution of murdering them, had they not got the start of them by a few days.

Cowardice and brutal ferocity, unpardonable and unknown, till then, to any of the human species, even the most ignorant savages—alone dictated such a conduct on either side. True courage would have taught, and have enabled them, with justice to punish the guilty, and to protect the helpless innocents.

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Their

Their suspicion of the King, whom they found surrounded by a number of emigrant nobles in disguise, now became boundless; and excited them upon the 11th of August, 1792, to drag him to that dungeon from whence he never removed, till he went before those merciless judges, who rewarded all his fondness, all his generous sacrifices to their happiness, by dooming him to a cruel death!

La Fayette, struck with horror at such barbarous excess, and probably equally torn by remorse at not having done what he ought, and could have done, to save the King when stopped at Varennes, and the fears of the detection of his intended treason to the nation, in a few days after the imprisonment of the
King,

King, fled; and General Dumourier took the command of the Northern army.

I shall here suppress a great deal of intreaty and attempts, which were made to seduce him not to resist the invaders; but although he ever was a Royalist, he would have died a thousand deaths, rather than not have opposed the entrance of despotism into his country.—Every art to gain him proved in vain; and on the 20th of the same month the Combined Armies entered France. Such a force—so splendid as to rank—so formidable as to numbers, and so nobly caparisoned, never yet had been seen in Europe.

It was now that the despots had a truth to learn, that a single arm strung by that nervous courage, which the fervid love of liberty inspires, is far more formidable than twenty of the best drilled soldiers, that Frederick ever formed.

If it was ever the Duke of Brunswick's intention to go to Paris (except he firmly believed the assurances of the Emigrants, that all the valour and warlike spirit of the French nation had left it with them), he certainly unwisely went upon a campaign carried so far into the enemy's country, without sufficient foresight, how his army was to be fed, or his horses maintained.

For

Had it even been his intention to go to Paris by forced marches, his troops never would have been able to accomplish it. For he must have had, at least, a million of waggons with supplies, or have starved : and those must have been drawn by, at least, six horses. In such a country as Champagne, where there are no roads, and in a great part of the country, like the cross roads in Yorkshire in winter, where, it is said, the clowns are seen with long sticks poking for their ponies—through such roads, how were the horses ever to get to their journey's end without forage? that being, with every other article of subsistence, destroyed by the French. The not having the possibility either of carrying sufficient provisions with them, or of getting them on their march, for a long campaign,

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necessary towards the success of an army than being the greatest Martinets in the reviews at Potzdam. Medicine is little encouraged in the German states, and, consequently, it is little known. Every man values his own life, but very little that of his neighbour's. The despots, in estimating the forts they wished to get possession of, used to talk of their soldiers as of so many flocks of sheep ; they would say, we will give 10,000 men for Thionville, 6000 for Metz, &c.

How would that brave humanity, which dictates to a British officer to watch over the lives of their wounded soldiers as a parent over his children, have been disgusted and revolted, to have seen the Prussians last campaign, thrown out to the dogs---unburied—nay, not dead ;
for

for when they were, from disease, unable to defend themselves, their companions stripped them, and threw them out in the heap either above or beneath the corpses, as chance directed; so eagerly had the Prussian troops adopted this maxim, which old Frederick declared was the first principle to make an intrepid soldier, "the love of plunder;" and so over anxious were they to perfect themselves in this first rule, that they seem have forgotten all those which followed, which were better fitted to insure respect to their country.

At first, the Combined Armies alertness was evident to Dumourier, who was too able a General not to see the advantages he would gain, by allowing them to advance unattacked. Verdun's falling

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into

into their hands will ever be recorded in the memory of the English, by the heroism of the Sub-governor; who, faithful to his oath of dying rather than to admit a foreign enemy, boldly ended his existence.

At this time, I read several letters from the King of Prussia himself, to some of his friends; which expressed his wonder at the matchless bravery, discipline, and perfect organization of the French army. Europe now began to see that they were not the dastardly crew which their fugitive countrymen had represented them; and that the retreat of the Combined Armies from France, without giving battle, was the only chance which they had of ever quitting it.

Whilst

Whilst Dumourier was thus, with a degree of ability unknown since the days of Malborough, and with a vivacity, genius, and intrepidity inconceivable, with such judgment and justice in combining and calculating every resource or weakness of either army—Whilst he was thus employed,---the nation at Paris declared itself a Republic. Had Dumourier himself been King of France, loving his country, and respecting his own honor, could he have laid down his arms, and said, “Gentlemen, I do not like to have a Republican Government, I will allow myself to be hanged, my country be conquered and disgraced, and appear to all Europe a fool?” That would have been a degree of philosophy which would have disgraced even Diogenes’ tub. It had another effect upon Dumourier,

mourier, and redoubled his ardour against those invaders who had forced his countrymen to excess, so disagreeable to him : the same honor which would have rendered each nerve torpid, if strung against his King, now gave added fire to every fibre, against those who had attempted his seduction, and the subjecting his country.

Every man must feel that the duty of a subject is, to respect the government of his country. Did every one think that they were obliged to turn their arms against it, at every change which the Executive Power thought fit to make, intestine broils, like a plague, would spread desolation over the face of the earth. His wish that such a government had never been chosen, his uniform conduct afterwards proved ; although

though he ever, as general of the army of the Republic, strictly adhered to his duty as its servant.

All the middle of September the Combined Armies remained encamped in the plains of Champagne; and although their force amounted to 100,000 men, and that of the French never, whilst there, exceeded 27,000, they shewed no desire to give battle. Indeed, few of the men were fit for service; and of those, many were of such Republican principles, that in the little fighting which they had, their officers were obliged to use every exertion to keep them to it; which alone can account for their allowing Dumourier, without opposition, to carry on his entrenchments, which he did with great ability and dispatch.

At this period the ministers offered sufficient reasons for their stopping all proceedings, had Dumourier not; they had inconsiderately taken the nobles and princes into their army, and become pledged to them to restore them to their ancient rights. But it is certain, that they now were given to understand, that even should they meet no obstacle towards their advancing to Paris, that they would, when arrived, there find a positive one in the King; who was decided never to restore their rights, so oppressive to the people; on the other hand, they were resolved never to submit to any form of government which would lessen them.

Ardent differences in opinion existed, between Messrs. Calonne and Breteuil; which

which ended in its being proposed by the nobles, not to restore Louis XVth to the monarchy, but to form a regency, and declare the Dauphin King of France : which was so contrary to justice, and must have been so productive of bloodshed and discord in Europe, that had they been even at the gates of Paris, these circumstances must have, in honor, forced the Duke of Brunswick to return without attempting to enter there.

Under this critical situation the Duke demanded a truce : and Dumourier, whose humanity made him sincerely wish for the restoration of peace, and to spare the effusion of human blood, greedily listened to terms. But this truce, on the part of the Combined Army,

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my, was nothing more than a change of scenery in a pantomime: and their proposing that the General should restore the French monarchy, shewed that nothing was meant by it. General Dumourier informed them, that he should transmit their overtures to the Executive Council, as he only interfered in the conduct of the army. A few *douceurs* on the part of the General to the King of Prussia, and the Duke of Brunswick, to console them for the depredations which want of provisions—sickness—and a surfeit of French artillery had caused; however employed those few days more agreeably than any they had passed in France. At last, General Dumourier broke off the truce, on finding that the Prussians carried on their

their works during it ; and whether he had engaged the King of Prussia, without resistance, to quit France, and on his part promised to spare his troops, then totally at his mercy, is a secret known to few besides themselves. I have no doubt the General, from his soothing manners, found a method to reconcile his Majesty to his fate.

Certain it is, that they were so enfeebled by sickness, hunger, and desertion, that it rested on Dumourier's generosity to exterminate, or not, the whole army ; but to his eternal honor it will be recorded, that though impelled by the most intrepid rashness, not one moment was ever attended with an act of cruelty, illiberality, or depredation.

The Austrians besieged Lille with all that force which had made Alla's Faithful tremble; and gained them such immortal fame at Belgrade. But the ardor and intrepidity of the besieged enabled them, though a handful of men, to resist all the boasted force of Austria. The women and children, equally active in the defence of their country, night and day were upon duty, carrying water to extinguish the flames, continually breaking out in every part of the town, and in attending the sick, and interring the dead; whilst the men, with such ability and unremitting courage served the artillery, that they finally obliged the enemy to retire, leaving their bravest troops dead, or expiring under their walls.

What

What art thou Glory ? What ! a gilded cheat !
 How many of these gallant warlike youths,
 Lur'd by thy voice, have fought thee e'en in death,
 Forgetful of those pangs which now distract
 A wretched parent ! or a frantic wife !
 Oh ! what thy power, which animates the soul,
 Thus boldly to encounter worlds unknown !
 Alas ! if Fame—say, can these heroes now
 Hear her false voice, resound beyond the grave ?
 Ah ! what a thought is there ! bewild'ring oft,
 But not to be resolved,—Oh Ambition !
 Thou'rt a godlike passion ! but most falsely
 Thou dost promise sweet happiness and joy !
 Thy vaunted greatness and success how vain,
 To give contentment ! Of thy votaries,
 Ah how many wasted are, to thy most
 Soaring heights, on the sighs of hearts, groaning
 With anguish and oppression ! What black crimes !
 What seas of guiltless blood stream in full tides
 O'er each path which marks thy gaudy triumph !

Before I proceed further, I shall
 refer to page 185 of my letter to my
 son, where I say, that “ all the united
 “ force of the empire, joined to their's
 “ (the nobles), will not now be able to
 “ effect

“ effect the counter-revolution—should
 “ they attempt to enter France, the
 “ whole nation, who at present are di-
 “ vided in many parties, originating
 “ from jealousy, poverty, and every
 “ cause of discontent, they will all join,
 “ and forget their internal foes, to re-
 “ pel the *common* enemy—for it is not
 “ with liberty that they are dissatisfied,
 “ but the abuses of that blessing—by the
 “ ill-conduct of their credit, the stop to
 “ all commerce and trade. But if their
 “ discontent be left to prey upon them-
 “ selves, it will do more to the restora-
 “ tion of their situation than all the
 “ troops of the empire.”—How far my
 reasoning was just the event shewed.

Thus, in every quarter, this splendid
 army failed ; and although few of them
 had

had any opportunity of falling by the sword, yet sickness, much aggravated by their filth, killed more than half of them; they used little cooking to any of their victuals; when they perchance got hogs, &c. they, after skinning them alive, cut them up, and eat them.

It having been arranged, that the Combined Armies should quit the French territory—they did so as quick as they could; their baggage, sick, and rear guards perpetually falling into the hands of the French. They, by capitulation, evacuated Verdun on the 12th of October 1792; and by the 20th of that month, they had compleatly retired from the territory of the Republic.

Now

Now the state of affairs began to wear another aspect. Dumourier and his army had, till now, nothing to do but to keep up the chase; that over, and the allied army arrived on their own territory, he prepared for retaliation by an attack upon the Netherlands; to which he was most earnestly solicited by the patriots of Brabant and Liege.

About this time the emigrant nobles came in swarms to Spa, harassed with the fatigue of having suffered from incessant rains, where their nourishment chiefly consisted in bread blacker than their weather-worn hats, without having even tasted those ideal sweets they had with such joy indulged the hopes of, in vengeance on their countrymen;
 their

their disappointments and sorrows there found some diversion at the gaming table ; where, led by the ill-founded hopes of making the little sum they had earned by their campaign more sufficient for their wants, they played till every farthing of it adroitly was won of them, which was intended for the government--allowed play a month later than common that season, on purpose, as they expected to profit by them on their return from the camp.

The Prussian troops had retired to the neighbourhood of Coblentz, Witzlar, Lembourg, and the banks of the Rhine. The King went immediately to Berlin, to efface, by the pleasures of his court, the privations which he had endured,

endured, and to look down on the storm ready to burst on his Imperial Ally. The Duke of Brunswick also went home, saying, that he was in a hurry to retire, to lay before the Public his apology for his conduct, which had drawn forth the most virulent sarcasms from the Emigrants and Austrians, as well as the derision of the patriots. But being a better general than I am, he does not venture to hazard a publication only the work of a few hours : he waits till, often revised and corrected, the work be expunged from all that imperfection which his apology may want.

The imperial troops were now, I may say, panic-struck : a suspicion of treachery run like a pestilence through the
army ;

army; and "*we are sold*" was the cry of the soldiers. It was this opinion, as well as the little military skill of the Duc de Saxe Techsen, that so ill prepared them to meet the vigorous assault of the French, who so soon taught them to fly from their superiority on the plains of Jemappe. The whole strength and hopes of Austria were there assembled; and their posts so advantageously chosen, and fortified with such care, it required a degree of bravery not to be extinguished by difficulty or danger to have carried the French on with such rapidity.

The battle began the 2d of November; they remained under arms, and engaged every day till the 6th; when the decisive battle was fought, Dumou-

rier had not above 30,000 effective men in his army : though the enemy believed he had double that number. Although the Austrians kept up a continued fire from most formidable redoubts on high grounds, covered by 100 pieces of cannon, yet upon the 6th they were obliged to fly in such consternation and disorder, that they passed through Mons without stopping. Dumourier was met at the gate by the Burgo-maistre, with the keys. Dumourier entreated him to keep them, that he might ever after shut his doors against despots, and open them to the sons of freedom ; assuring him also that he came to liberate, not oppress the Belgians.

I heard the Austrians speak of this most bloody battle, and of the military skill

skill of the French, with wonder! Dumourier, with the most active energy, flew every where, inspiring enthusiasm in his troops by his daring valour. He drew his sabre, and charging at the head of his advance-guards, cried, "come, my boys, follow me." And the Duc de Chartres, on this action, as during the whole campaign, behaved with a coolness and intrepidity which gained him Dumourier's esteem, as well as the love of the soldiers; his whole character is so opposite to his father's, that, was it not for the irreproachable reputation of his amiable mother, one would be tempted to believe his veins are not filled with the cowardly vile blood of this despicable Egalité.

General Dumourier had a Valet de Chambre, called Baptiste, whom he had reared from infancy; and who, by his conduct, shews the effects of a good education. He saw his master hurried by impetuous courage to lengths, which a large detachment seemed unwilling to follow.—He instantly seized a sabre, rallied the detachment, leaped into the entrenchment, got possession of the redoubt, and decided the glory of the day.

Terror and dismay now spread far, and overwhelmed all the emigrants and the despotic party in Brabant; nobody staid at Brussels, or elsewhere, except the aristocrats, the English, and the patriots.—Some fled half naked—most of them on foot—and those, who could
pay

pay twenty guineas a piece for the hire of horses, joined a rank of carriages—above 400. All left Bruffels the 7th of November, to the great joy of the inhabitants. Dumourier shewed himself generous as well as brave, by allowing the Austrians to march unmolested out of his country—Like an husbandman without violence driving a flock of geese out of his newly sown field; and so inoffensive to humanity did he make the evacuation of Brabant, that his army always encamped in sight of the Austrians. At Bruffels he waited at the South gate, till they should quit it by the North.

Upon his entering it the 10th of November 1792, he published a manifesto, dictated by his own wisdom and liberality, assuring them, that he did
not

not mean to force upon them the French Constitution; but to leave them at liberty to choose that which the people wished. By this conduct he gained the most hearty welcome from the aristocrats, who wished the states to govern; as well as from the people, who were equally averse to them as to despotism. Unfortunately Dumourier could not stay long in Brabant, being obliged to carry further his conquests. The command was given to General Morton, whose manners and character revolted every one who beheld him.

Degraded by the most unworthy proceedings the 9th of August, he thirsted for even more blood, this nobleman (for he was one of the few who

who had joined the patriots, and by doing so disgraced their cause), was of high rank ; his title was that of Chabrian, he had been bred at Court, and was one of Monsieur's Lords. Whilst at Brussels he dared not commit any atrocities, being under the eye of a variety of generals whom Dumourier could rely upon ; but he was little fit to gain by address, that willing submission which does not always succeed the conquest of arms. The Imperial troops in their retreat, followed the example of the Prussians ; who even pillaged the unfortunate emigrants, who served with them.

Such robberies and depredations as they committed, decided the English, and every person at Spa, to go away to
save

save their baggage; and consequently the same day that others went, I set off, accompanied by Miss Maxwell, for Liege. When we arrived, we found the town so full of Brabant fugitives, we could not get a place, not even in a garret or cellar—nor any horses.—We set off with those tired ones that brought us from Spa, and in the night, through a road such as no person ever saw, without meeting any houses for a dozen of miles, obliged to walk all the way, from its being too dangerous to go over it in a carriage, the road being, on each side, undefended from those formidable pits made by the Duke of Cumberland, in the year 1743; where his troops were hid, several hundreds in each of them, ready to surprize the enemy on their approach by their unexpected appearance.

ance. The gates of Maestricht were shut when we arrived; and till next day we did not get admittance into this dirty seat of ignorance, despotism, and misery.

The town is under the government of two Burgo-maistres; the one a protestant, chosen by the Dutch; the other a papist, appointed by the Prince of Liege, the humble instrument of the sea of Rome. It were happy for this petty place if another man, as respectable as the Protestant magistrate, were to be found in it. For bigotry and despicable intrigue in the other, renders the place unfit for any respectable inhabitant.

It is governed, in military matters, by Prince Frederick of Hesse, brother to

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him

him who has the contract with England for men (which by the bye is but half a degree removed from our slave-trade); him who was distinguished by Princess Amelia, leaving him her splendid fortune, unmindful of the beauteous offspring of our beloved Sovereign.

I had got so bad a cold and hoarseness as unfitted me from presenting myself at their door; a respect, on the part of all who intended to stop in the town, I was told they expected.—But my illness made me resolve against it, together with finding, that the rest of the English in the town never went, except Lady Douglas, wife to Sir George Douglas the navy officer, who attended all her court, and was upon so friendly
a footing,

a footing, as to be invited to her select suppers,

An order was issued by the magistrates, for all strangers to give notice to them who they were, with whom connected, and by what means they subsisted; that they might either give a letter of residence, or send them forth to the mercy of the enemy, as their circumstances directed. The Marechal de Castres, the Duc de Guines, with all their female relations, and several hundred more of the first families in Europe, were inhumanly ordered out; though the French aristocrats had hardly a chance of escaping, being surrounded with the French patriots. The Marquis de Champinelle, who rather than submit to the risk of sitting down with

the Tiers Etat of Paris, had, in 1789, abandoned his King and country, now to avail himself of all the advantages of the *bull d'or*, humbly supplicated to have the honour of being admitted a burgher of this petty Dutch burgh; which being granted, he and his family were saved from being sent out like the rest.

The day after my arrival, on coming from the Comtesse of D'Alton's, the beautiful wife of the Austrian general of that name, accompanied by my cousin Miss Maxwell, General Count Conway, and young Reidheiffel the Sub-governor's son, I started and grew pale at the sight of a man, whom I met at the door. General Conway asked me what was the matter? I pointing to the man, exclaimed,

exclaimed, Grands Dieux! there is a wretch who is come here to assassinate me, for I found him in my lodgings, before I had taken them five minutes, in close conference with my landlord, whose name is Briatte; and who the Prince of Hesse accused of being a Jacobine; his name is Valmalette. Young Reidheissel begged that I might compose myself, for that he could assure me he was not called Valmalette, but Count Mercan, chamberlain to the King of Prussia, and paymaster to the Princes. Ah! if so, said I, he should add another title, that of *forger of assignats*; for this accounts for the poor emigrants being paid in them, and indeed for the amazing conduct of the whole campaign. General Conway begged I would tell him

him how I come to think I knew this man, and I related to him what follows :

In the year 1789 I left Spa, accompanied by my nephew, Mr. Fordyce, and curiosity led us through Paris, in our way to England ; we arrived there the 1st of October ; I at that time knew nothing of French politicks, and very few French people, even by reputation. In the few days I staid there, I, however, had very decided proofs that the tumults, insults, and dangers, which beset the King on the 5th and 6th of that month, were solely the diabolical contrivance of Egalité.

A committee was on the 7th formed of the deputies of the National Assembly,

bly, to inquire into the source of those movements. To screen the real perpetrator from being detected, this monster Valmalette, denounced me to the committee, accusing me of being employed by the ministers of England, and having papers of great consequence in my letter-case. La Fayette issued a warrant to apprehend me, which was served as if I had been their captive queen, whom they had two days before dragged to Paris; for sixty National troops and sixteen Swiss guards, attended by four commissaries, in the middle of the night, arrested me, and placing me in a coach drawn by four horses, they carried me to the Hotel de Ville.

The

The streets were filled with many thousands of the Poissardes, who were mostly intoxicated; and in the courts, were above 11,000 National troops; whilst the stair-cases, anti-chambers, and halls, were filled with officers, all with their swords drawn; in the inner apartment was seated La Fayette, “like
 “a Sophy on his throne,” surrounded with aid-de-camps and generals, who all came to see the victim, which they were persuaded, after a few minutes’ examination, would be thrown out to be torn to peices, as many others had been.

Knowing that no one, however innocent, had escaped, I made up my mind to my fate, being persuaded, that as an
 English

English women, accused of being employed by ministers against them, I had no chance ; I summoned up my courage, and it did not fail me. I was resolved boldly to defend my country and myself from so unmerited an accusation ; and to mark, by my words and gestures, all that contempt, which these blood-hounds merited.

From one o'clock in the morning, til eight, I was answering the interrogatories of the Abbé Fauchet, and the other Deputies—and with such alternate irony and haughtiness did I answer, that the major, who stood behind me with his sword drawn over my head, told me afterwards, that he every moment expected I should be sent to prison. Unaccustomed to such undaunted

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truth,

truth, they were awed by my manner ; and execrating the false informer, they proposed conducting me back to my Hotel, Rue de Richelieu.

Though acquitted above stairs, I had still little chance of escaping the mob below ; who, not under the dominion of reason, perhaps might tear me to pieces, as they had done Bertier, when sent away acquitted. But having decorated myself before I set out, with the tri-couleur ribbons, the Poissarde, half of them drunk, the other asleep, probably thought I was a lady belonging to the commissioner who attended me ; for I got home unmolested.

Lord Robert Fitzgerald was then our minister at Paris. I immediately sent to
 desire

desire to see him. When he came, I told him the story, and begged him to go along with me back again. He tried to persuade me not to go again to 'that bourne' from whence so few returned; but I said I had rather that they should kill me, than that I should set down under such an insult—So into my carriage we got, and drove to the Hotel de Ville; when arrived, I demanded to see the Marquis de la Fayette, and we were conducted into his Presence-chamber, where he came, leaving his aid-de-camps with their swords drawn in the anti-chamber.--Lord Robert, as minister, began, very gracefully, by saying, this is my lady--I stopped him short, saying, "Monsieur le Marquis should know me, since he so daringly arrested me last night; but, said I, Monsieur La Fayette, I am neither of a

country nor a mind that can submit to an insult ; and to demand that satisfaction, which is not so much due to my honor as to your's, I am now come here accompanied by the minister of England".

With all that insinuating elegance and plausibility of manners he is so famed for, he deplored his error, and lamented my sufferings ; assuring us that Valmalette had given Monsieur le Bailli, mayor of Paris, who was his relation and friend, the accusation against me, promising to him, that when I was caught he would attend to prove his assertion. He said that the miscreant Valmalette had not only, by this stragem, occupied the committee from the inquiring into Egalité's guilt, but had insured

insured his own retreat :—for that the night before he had stolen away with all his effects. After, in terms sufficiently strong, having reprobated their conduct, we took our leave, first having received from La Fayette every assurance that he would send a party after him to Cinquaine, where he was born, and probably had returned to hide himself; and also lay the business before the King, who sent me a very handsome apology by Monsieur Montmorin (too good a one), that he alas ! received too many insults to be able to prevent any ;—but assuring me that he would write to the arch-duchess, to have Valmelette arrested, if in the Brabant. The party and warrants were sent after him ; but he never could be found, nor heard of, till now I met him with my Jacobin landlord

landlord in my apartment. Comte Conway and Mr. Reidheiffel said it was amazing!—and, having conducted us to our house, wished them good morning.

I then sent a civil note to the magistracy, containing my name ; one famous amongst their generals ; and my connections, the most honorable and faithful supporters of my King and country ; and my means of subsistence sufficient. When, to my amazement, the Papist Burgo-maistre sent me by the footman, a most impertinent verbal message—that I was not to stay. His message shewed me plainly, that my having written against popery, had awakened *holy wrath*. Indeed such offence, the letter to my son had given at Liege, that they sent the police after it to Spa ;
where

where, had the booksellers, who sold it, not hid it under the roof of their houses, it would have been publicly burned in the streets.—Nay, I am not sure that I should not have been thrown into the flames with it. On my appearance at Maestricht then, where a very warm enmity subsisted between the Lutherins and Papists, I was looked upon as a most formidable force to join the Protestant party—one, who would make tremble the holy chair; nay, by oversetting the principles of the great town of Maestricht, I might overthrow the Pope himself.

I should not have doomed myself to stay in this outlandish place an hour, since I have no faith in the virtue of penance, if I had not been, by illness,
totally

totally unable to travel. Every body complained of such an insult to an English person; who certainly has claims to every possible mark of Dutch protection: and all ridiculed the motive of it.

The Prince de Montmorency told me he had heard, that young Reidheffel went to the Prince of Hesse, and told him what I had said of Mercan; and he not being a person of the brightest understanding in the world, in place of asking me about the story, he sent this papist Burgo-maistre for Valmelette; and told him, that he heard he was not Count Mercan, but Valmalette, born at Cinquintaine, banished from France, and the Netherlands, and not a Prussian. Valmalette told this prince, who was
weak

weak enough to believe him, that he was not Valmalette, and added, I can tell your highness who gave you this information: it was an English lady, who being one of the Duke of Orleans's agents, and having seen me here, she has lodged those false accusations against me, to screen herself, and get me suspected, who am the Count Mercan, chamberlain to the King of Prussia, and confident friend and paymaster to the French princes. This gratified the papist Burgo-maitre's vengeance; and the Prince of Hesse, assured of Mercan's being highly injured, rejoiced at my leaving the town.

All the much respected family of the Montmorency's knew well my opinion of Egalité, this chef-d'œuvre of ini-

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quity,

quity, and knew before this period the story of Valmalette. But they little suspected that Valmalette was Mercan, else they would probably have been able to save the princes from so very ruinous a connection. The Prince of Montmorency had a friend at Maestricht, who saw Mercan, and attested him to be Valmalette, whom he had known in the French dragoons; and that he had married an old cloathsman's daughter on the Boulevards. Baron Zemst, the minister of the King of Prussia, whom, I had before known intimately, passed through Maestricht, and called on me. I asked him if such a man were employed by the King his master; he said no such man was, that he ever had heard of. I then charged him to inform the King of Prussia of the story; at the same
time

time expressing my wish to caution his Majesty, since the fate of empires was in his hands, not to admit every infamous adventurer into his councils ; even though recommended by a favorite friend or mistress.—

Not being of a conduct to merit reproach, nor of a character to submit to it, although extremely ill, I went wrapt up, to the Prince of Hesse. Sir Lionel Copley, with that liberality and manly firmness which does so much honor to his character, accompanied me. I charged the prince with having been so unwise as to listen to Valmalette without hearing me ; and by so doing, making himself the dupe of such a wretch ; I assured him that it was a duty I owed myself to give him information, notwithstanding so very unfair

fair a conduct in his highness, which had brought me to his house—Then telling him all Valmalette's story—adding, he owed too much to England not to study to shew every mark of attention to the respectable part of the nation. I gave him a copy of my letter to my son, to shew him the opinion I had of Egalité; and I sincerely hope his highness has read it, for it cannot fail to improve him. Although he had been in England, he seemed to forget the respectable independence of an English subject, and stood confessedly ashamed of his conduct; he begged that I would inform the French princes of this story, and with the most courteous assurances how happy the princess and he would be to see me for some months in summer; and begging to be of every use in providing

viding horses for me, we took leave of him, preferring infinitely the risk of being robbed by the Imperial troops, to the remaining where Valmalette's post-guard might have reached me. The Prince of Hesse promised to keep him in custody till I was out of the country, and then to banish him, which I suppose he did; for soon after, he followed me to London, where he took various names, one day a Pole, another day a German, and perhaps he still is in England.

We were very much alarmed for the safety of a beautiful infant I carried with me, as it was well authenticated, that the Hulans, who are a nation of savages, roasted children when hungry—but thank God we got safe to Liege, which
was

was not so full as when I passed it before, as most of the emigrants and priests had fled. We were the only people going there; the roads were lined with carriages going away, and carts of baggage flying from the plunder of the Imperial army.

Had I been conveyed by some ærial means to the most remote town of the Hottentots, I am persuaded I could not have had such striking proofs of barbarous ignorance, as the week I stayed at Maestricht afforded. The roads being on all sides almost impassable, they have very little intercourse with the world; and a primitive illiterate pride, seemed alone to distinguish all I chanced to meet with there.

I was

I was sorry to find, upon my arrival at Liege, the French princes that day had fled, upon the approach of the Sansculottes army, which had beaten the Austrians at Louvaine, St. Ivon, Tirlemont, and Namur; which Valance bombarded, and took with such bravery and military skill. The inhabitants of Liege were all valiant patriots. The Austrian troops who were in it, seemed to think the defence of it, by making a stand on the citadel and Chartreuse, was decided on; that must have totally destroyed the town, and a dreadful carnage must have ensued had they attempted it, for the people of the town would have risen in arms against the Imperial troops.

We

We had been for some time accustomed to hear cannonading from every quarter—we were now to have them planted against us.—The inhabitants waited in silent anxiety, wishing that the Austrians might be beaten; and knowing that they would plunder them of every thing they could find, they passed their time in burying their plate, money, and valuables. I did not imagine that the Austrians would give battle at Liege, or attempt to defend that country, when they had so calmly evacuated their own; especially as they had the inhabitants all against them. The patriotism of the people was much increased by their bigotry. The violent rains that the Combined Armies had been exposed to, and the diseases which they

they endured, they supposed the blessed Virgin had sent to prevent their success; on the other hand, the sun chanced always to shine when Dumourier made an advantageous move; and a circumstance that happened on the 26th of November, left them no doubt but that the *Bon Dieu etoit Patriote*.

The Austrians were encamped on the heights above Liege, and it was decided on by them, that they must secretly in the night try to get possession of the citadel of Liege, and the Chartreuse; to be able to make an advantageous stand against the French and the town.

No snow had yet fallen; but just that evening enough fell to whiten the ground, so that the men could not move

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without

without being discovered by Dumourier ; whose energy of character kept him always awake to every occasion : he instantly observing the movement, made after them so fast as to prevent their accomplishing the motive of it ; and the brave Starary turned imprudently, and gave battle.

I lodged at the same hotel with a German officer, whose wife's anxieties I attempted to alleviate during the battle ; he told me in passing, that the General, as well as all the officers, had ever since the retreat of the Prussians looked upon the business as a forlorn hope ; and disgusted and driven by desperation, he said it was better to die honorably there, than for ever to fly before the French ; and thus he was rashly
driven

driven to give battle. An ill-fated battle for him, and several thousand brave men, who fell!

The engagement continued with unremitting violence for 14 hours. May none in England ever witness the horrors of such a scene! The awful suspense was dreadful even to me, who had no friend or relation, or any one whom I knew engaged. Oh what then the anguish of the charming little countess I was with, who trembled for the fate of her husband!—

Upon the report of three guns, fired as a signal that the French were victorious, the emigrants, both men and women, the officers and soldiers wives, displayed a scene of horror and distress, running about unable to find horses to

convey them away ; and the inhabitants doing nothing to help them ; on the contrary, the cruelties and shifts committed by them, made the inhabitants detain all their baggage, which was left after the troops ; who ran through the town without stopping for any thing, carrying with them an incredible number of wounded, amongst whom was poor General Starary, whose words were too prophetick. He was carried through the town alive, and witnessed how little the inhabitants thanked him for defending them ; and in a few days he was resigned to an honorable grave.

Next day after this (to me a melancholy tragedy) the 28th of the month, all was gay. The ringing of bells, and preparations to receive their deliverers
the

the French, filled the town with jocundity and enthusiasm. All were dressed in their best apparel, with tri-couleur ribbons, and National cockades; their plate and money were all dug up, and every thing in the best gala order.

The French did not march into town till mid-day. The inhabitants had gone out, carrying every sort of provision to their camp—for four days the troops had tasted nothing but some hard stale bread, brought from Bruffels, without even water; and their usual vivacity and gaiety was perfectly re-established.

It would need the pen of a Homer to describe their triumphal entry. Several thousands of their dragoons passed first, all in high order—the men clean and gay, as if they had not come from
severe

severe hard duty ; after them came the troops of the line, all joyous and neatly drest, paying their compliments to every person whom they passed, and each man with a loaf of bread, a leg of mutton, or a piece of beef, on his bayonet. The troops were all in an instant lodged by the inhabitants.--When general Dumourier arrived with his officers, without any guard, amidst the shouts and blessings of the mob, he went into the town-house, where he addressed the people in a short speech ; assuring them, that it gave him the most lively pleasure, having assisted them in getting rid of a government so obnoxious to them ; that he meant neither to use force or entreaty, leaving them to study how they could be most happy, freed from the despotic government of priests—" Unite us to France"

France," was loudly re-echoed by the whole.

The General, after several of the inhabitants had spoken to thank him and the French nation, for having given them man's best gift, freedom, —was preparing to leave the Hotel de Ville; when a circumstance happened to awaken pity in every breast not dead to feeling: An unfortunate leader of the last revolt, who had been confined ever since in a dungeon, and never once allowed to see his wife, whom he doted upon, was now brought out; when alas! the joy of seeing once more the light, and tasting a cordial to support his exhausted emaciated frame, was soon to be damped by the severest blow of affliction.

His

His wife on hearing that the French had beat off the Austrians, the cause of all her sorrow, was in such transport at the thoughts of seeing her beloved husband, who had so long been immured underground, that, unable to bear the excess of joy, mixt with suspense, without any disease she expired, from warring sensibility, before he could be released.

Another similar proof of female sensibility I had witnessed just before I left Spa. — A poor man was flogged almost to death for having uttered some words, when intoxicated, in favour of liberty; his wife, then very big with child, with two young infants in her arms, almost distracted, kneeling, implored mercy for her husband—insult was added to cruelty,

cruelty ; her heart, too good for the conflict, broke—she instantly was delivered, and expired. Her husband, nevertheless, was torn from his helpless infants and thrown into a dungeon, from whence the French delivered him.

The General, after having in the most feeling manner condoled with these unhappy sufferers, left the Hotel de Ville to take possession of the palace which was prepared for his reception. We, with a large party of ladies, were in the crowd to see him ; a Liege gentleman told him who we were. As soon as he found we were English, his assurances of respect and attachment to the nation became unbounded ; he begged that we would command his services in every thing, and asking Miss Maxwell, if she

was sister to the gallant Maxwell in India, I told him I had that honour. He said he was well acquainted with his great military character and distinguished courage, and begged of me when I wrote to him, that I would assure him of his esteem and admiration, and how sincerely he wished to serve a campaign *with* so able an officer, for that he hoped never to serve against his brothers of freedom, the English; which message I faithfully sent six months ago, to shew my dear brother, that all Europe had a just sense of his valour and services; which, I hope, will prove a small recompence for his hair-breadth escapes and toils in battle. I now saw, for the first time, the Duc de Chartres, whose amiable character and elegant manners render him so unlike the vile Egalité; his

his polite attention to me, as well as that of General Dumourier, shewed me how obnoxious his father's conduct was to them, otherwise they would not have treated with every mark of respect and civility, one who had held him forth to the odium of the public.

The character of the French troops was so decided, for being scrupulously honest, that no one had ever, wherever they went, lost a farthing's worth by them ; I therefore now sent for my baggage from Maestricht.

The crowds that filled the theatre the first night of their arrival, together with the crowds in the streets, prevented us from going to see the conqueror crowned with laurel.—Next day we

attended the ceremony of planting the Tree of Liberty in the market-place. A procession of citizens marched first with red woollen caps on their heads; they carried a very large tree, which they painted tri-couleur, and after planting it, they put an immense large red cap on it, all streaming with the National colours.

The General then made a speech to them complimenting them with their newly acquired liberty—conjuring them to shew themselves worthy of the blessing, by unanimity and humanity; by pardoning all those who had opposed them—and he declared, that if any act of violence, or oppression, should degrade them, that he would withdraw his protection, and pronounce them unworthy to be free.

I was

I was entreated by some ladies at the English convent, to apply to him for a protection, and to free them from levies of bread, &c. which he granted; and such marks of attachment, were always publickly shewn by Dumourier to all the English. A circumstance occurred that evening which proved that this sentiment was general in the army.—At the theatre the piece was *Blaise and Babet*, in which the country people bring a bouquet to the father of the village; instead of giving the bouquet to the actor, the actresses advanced to the prince's box; she put a wreath of laurel on Dumourier's head, and gave him the bouquet, which he instantly gave to me.—Loud applauses resounded from every part of the theatre, and salute the English lady. Long live Liberty, England, and France! re-echoed from every mouth.

After

After the play, the ceremony of taking the civic oath was the ballet ; and followed by the song of the Marseillois, the tocsin, and all that *stage effect* which awakens such enthusiastic ardor in the troops.—The French were ever a sing-song nation, and such power had these patriotic songs over their minds, that they became almost delirious, intoxicated by the fervor which they inspired. The whole audience joined in chorus, and between the play and the farce, they sung some poignant sarcasms on the Brunswick Manifesto, and the Prussian misfortunes; they then all retired quietly to their lodgings ; for no riot, drunkenness, insult, or depredation, has ever been committed by them in any place where I found them.

General

General Dumourier at the play, presented to me the intrepid Baptiste, and his two beautiful aids-de-camps, the Miss Fernicks. Their house being attacked by the Austrians in the night, and razed to the ground, they were obliged to fly with their brother, to seek refuge in the French camp ; when no female attire being found, the aids-de-camps gave them their uniforms, which the General advised them not to change for that of a female ; and declaring that he would severely chastise any man who should treat them but as young gentlemen, consigned by fortune to their care ; since both honour and humanity called on them, to protect those innocent unfortunates. He made their brother and them, aids-de-camps, and they passed
all

all their time in writing dispatches, and the accounts of the army, with their brother; and such a point of honor was it with the officers, the treating them with delicacy, that they seemed to find a brother in every one who approached them; one of them is the prettiest creature I ever beheld, and both of them possess a gentleness and softness of manners, I should have imagined would have shrunk in terror from the horrors of war. But driven by necessity, with a calm steady mind, with the utmost courage, they conducted themselves in every battle.

There are many other females who served in the army with uncommon intrepidity—the artillery even was served by

by them, with more ability than by the men.

The General told me that the Duc de Chartres, alarmed by the danger which his sister was in of being expatriated by her stay in England, had that night set out for Paris; without stopping to take any repose, after the long painful fatigues to which he had exposed himself, with as little indulgence, as if he had been a common soldier.

I expressed my satisfaction to hear, that the young men were so unlike their father; and I was well pleased to hear Dumourier speak with as much horror and detestation of Egalité as he did with esteem of his sons.

Next morning I had appointed a party to call upon me, to go to see the camp. One of whom was the Count de Shomberg, a Saxon nobleman, nephew to General Dumourier, and who was come to pay him a visit. Sir Lionel Copley also was of the party, and he brought with him Colonel Doiley of the guards. When we arrived at the camp, it was the hour of the soldiers dinner; and such cleanness and nice-cooked victuals were every where displayed, that I could have dined more comfortably there, than I have often done in my inn. They had on one side a table with their soup and bouilli, on another their coffee; they dined in parties of half dozens, and all saluted us with great respect as we passed. I did not see so much of the camp as I wished,

as

as Colonel Doiley was hurried to get back, being to dine with General Dumourier, an old friend of his, to whom he had come from Maestricht on purpose to visit.

Next morning Count Shomberg came to meet me at Mrs. Ogradie's, where Sir Lionel Copley was, and entreated me to get a letter sent to his father-in-law at Maestricht, to tell him that the bombardment of that place was determined upon immediately; and as the artillery and troops were marched against it, he felt it his duty to give information to Count Walsh Serant, his wife's father, to remove. I had the honor to be acquainted with the whole family, and have long respected them for their many virtues; it therefore gave me sin-

cere pleasure to be able immediately to send his letter by Mr. Moulin, counsellor to the Prince of Liege. For the garrison being so weak, consisting only at that time of one regiment of Hessians, and one of Dutch, they must have, in a few hours, have fallen into the hands of the French; and by taking this place, a quick and sure inroad would have been made into Holland, had Dumourier not been prevented from carrying this plan into execution.

The very great candour and openness with which the General spoke his sentiments, enabled me to enter with him into an investigation of the inmost recesses of the political plans of the French. He talked with the utmost pity and feeling of the King; with admiration
of

of the Queen's many good qualities, the fortitude of her character, and excess of her misfortunes. He told me that he had ever been the sincerest of the King's friends, and had given him counsels, that his Majesty now was convinced, had he followed, all would have been well. But he was so easy in his temper, he had been misled by intriguing emigrants, who had tempted him to renounce the only Constitution, which could make the nation respectable or happy; which had declared themselves a Republick, he supposed, only because they could not trust him, but that he wished sincerely to see him restored to liberty and happiness.

I equally admired the justness, and warm loyalty of his sentiments; and expressed

pressed my opinion that a Republican government was totally unfit for France ; as the same regimen, which would agree with the Southern, might not agree with the Northern parts of it ; consequently civil broils and jealousies would prey upon the vitals of the nation. As a proof of this, I observed, that already his superior abilities, as a general, had caused a number of envious people, not only in the army, but that Cambon declared, so successful a general was dangerous in a Republick. I observed, that equality was only fit for the garden of Eden before the knowledge of evil ; for now the wicked so prevailed in numbers, that they would soon destroy every one who soared above the multitude, either by superiority of virtues, or abilities. That so long as foreign enemies at-

tacked

tacked them, I did not doubt but that they would agree; but so soon as peace from without should be established, intestine wars would probably disunite every province; each of them would have an army, and their generals would, in time of peace, become cheiftans; by which means, if we may be allowed to judge from the past history of mankind, the antient feudal system would be restored in France, and a little time produce a genius superior to the others, who would make himself tyrant over the whole.

He said, he most sincerely wished to see the Constitution of England in France; as one similar to that was the fittest for so great an empire, and the happiness of the community. He thought that, which they had chosen in 1791, was

was more uncorruptible than any other yet formed ; and though hereditary honours often ennobled vice and ignorance, yet every distinction which could be shewn to the faithful servants of their country, was wise in political institutions, by rewarding and recording those heroic, virtuous citizens, who did honour to it.

He expressed a most ardent wish that England would form an alliance with him, that in the infancy of their liberty, they might owe the blessing of peace to her,

I said, I dared to say, that the Cabinet of Great Britain would be most happy to grant every succour to so honest a cause, as that of stopping the horrors of war; and being the means of France regaining that mild government which

Louis

Louis the XVIth had chosen to give to the nation, they might enjoy that freedom, which was the boast and glory of Englishmen, and which reason and humanity rendered so justifiable.

He then begged that I would write to the ministers, to try to engage them to acquiesce in the plan. I said I was ever too anxious for the honour and prosperity of my country, in whose defence the lives of all my dearest relations are ever exposed, not gladly to seize this opportunity of making an offer to them, which appeared to me so much for its interest; but I told him that they would listen to no terms; on the contrary, think it an insult offered them by me, if he proceeded to attack Holland, by bom-
 Q barding

barding Maestricht. He said he would call on me next morning, which he did, attended by General Thevenot, and another friend ; when he explained to me, what he wished me to write by Mr. Noel, who was to be charged with the letter, and to explain the further particulars.

I accordingly wrote ; and since I have been returned, I have repeated the entreaty that they would form an alliance with him, and engage the Combined Armies to desist from invading France.-- He said he was certain that not a soldier in France would desert from him, if he was allied with England ; but that they never would come to any terms with the Germans, who wished to restore despotism.—That he should thus be enabled

to restore good government in France; and Holland would be saved from invasion; and those emigrants reinstated who would submit to the Constitution. That by the energy of those three free governments, England, Holland, and France, it would become the mutual interest of each, to preserve the other's tranquillity; that England would have no sacrifice to make to them, but to prevent the despots from invading France.—On the other hand, I made a statement of those ills that would be prevented by such an alliance, such as a war where nothing was to be got, and intrigues to subvert our government, which were not only plotting by the worthless part of the French and English nations, but were ready to burst

forth in horrors, only to be equalled at Paris,

Horrors which Dumourier execrated, and intrigues he had too much honour not to wish to erase from the policy of nations.

I was ignorant enough to flatter myself, that I was most materially serving my country, by making these proposals. — Certain I am that the most pure attachment to it, and heartfelt wish for its prosperity, honour, and tranquillity, engaged me in the business. I was totally unacquainted with those reasons, which from the judgment and distinguished abilities of the ministers, I have no doubt, were sufficient ones to have rendered

dered it impossible for them, in good policy, to enter into an alliance, which required far more than Dumourier's good faith and efforts, towards its becoming productive of the good which I aimed at—But I little thought that such a conduct would be requited, by base representations of me in the hireling prints, — subservient to the most wicked slander. Fortunately for my happiness, that conscious rectitude which has so uniformly supported me in the most untoward storms of fortune, now enables me to treat those detractors with that contempt which they merit.

The quantity of deserters which came into Liege to join the French, even in the five days that I remained there, must have made an army sufficient for the
 plains

plains of Champagne, if led on by Dumourier; they came in every day in parties, from sixty to a hundred. The Liegoise were in extacy at being freed, although all of them respected the character of their newly chosen bishop, the Comte de Mean, whose amiable manners, and many virtues endeared him to all that knew him—and who is quite a different sort of man from his predecessor; and I have no doubt, but his rectitude of heart will teach him how to correct and alleviate those grievances, which drove his subjects to revolt from their former bishop.

I now bid adieu to Liege after a short stay, productive of such uncommon events—I had only the happiness of seeing Dumourier, in a small company,

one

one morning at my own house, and one day when he dined at the palace, with about a dozen of the most distinguished generals; Dampierre, Vallance, Darville, Thevenot, Lanou, &c. I had every night at the theatre passed several hours in conversation with him, which were always productive of respect for his principles, admiration of his wit and engaging manners, and regret at parting from a person so very intelligent, and highly distinguished.

From Liege we went to Brussels, where I was resolved to await either an answer to my proposals, or the return of Mr. Noel—I found a most agreeable society of Brabançons there and English, and we passed our time very pleasantly, as the inhabitants were all most happy and contented.

contented with the French; until the Convention, with that rash unwise conduct,—which, if they do not alter, will finally destroy it, without the interference of any other power—issued an order, by force to unite Belgia to the French Republic: which order Dumourier was too honourable ever to put in execution, after having pledged himself to the contrary.

By the desire of General Morton, I always had the Archduchess's box ready for me and my party, at the playhouse. On the twenty-third I was rejoiced by the appearance of the General in it, accompanied by the Countesse and Count de Shomberg, and Madame de Bauver, a beautiful woman of fashion, who follows his fortunes—she is sister to Monsieur de Riverole, who has
written

written on the French revolution. He told me that he had just got accounts of Mr. Noel being arrived from England; that he had delivered my letters, and attended every day at the Secretary of State's Office for a fortnight, and used every possible means in his power to engage the ministers to speak with him, but in vain; and that after so long a period passed in fruitless attempts, he had left England, since neither coming as the King's deliverer, or in direct opposition to the Republic, could gain him admittance.

I never saw any man express more unaffected regret than General Dumourier did, at this his favorite plan having proved abortive. He never supposed that it was possible for a proposal, which he

R thought

thought was so much for the interest of England, and the cause of humanity, to be rejected ; and whilst he rejoiced at the prospect of serving his King and country, I felt equal joy at having been the humble instrument of mine becoming the law-giver of Europe, and the protector of the helpless, thus oppressed by the wicked. Dumourier said it was the death-warrant of his poor King, this refusal of England—but that he would hurry up to Paris, and do all he could to save him—although, alas ! he knew his powers were unequal to the task, else he would not have sought with such earnestness the help of others. Certain it is, not a man of his army would have deserted him in this plan, had England joined them ; and by her power have made the House of Austria give up the invasion.

invasion. For the King of Prussia, lost in pleasure, balls, petit soufé, and revels at Francfort, seemed to desire no better than to bury campaigning in oblivion. The proof of this is, that the troops had all come to the frontiers to fight as subjects of the Constitution; and the hardships they had endured from the ill-conduct in the Republican Government, did not tempt them to approve of that Constitution having been changed for a Republic.

Dumourier complained bitterly of the treatment of the Convention to him, and his army, in having set aside all his arrangements in Belgium—in having protested his bills for the necessaries of the army; and he declared, that he was

resolved *, that if they sacrificed the King, and did not act in a different manner, that he would retire from the service.

There had been a great deal of money, it is true, expended in the campaign ; yet I am firmly persuaded, that not one farthing of it was appropriated to his own private use. The enormous expence, which in good policy was necessary to prevent the effusion of human blood, the relieving the conquered from all loss sustained by them, together with the paying his troops handsomely, to enable them to give money for all the articles of their living, caused, in so

* Let the Public remark, that these resolutions were formed in 1792.

numerous an army, a very great expenditure ; one not necessary to the Austrian army, who, with much ingenuity and œconomy, supplied themselves by pillage.

He always foresaw, that to leave the Belgians to chuse their own government, would attach them faithfully to France, as the defenders of their rights ; he knew that they would all revolt against French principles ; the one party, because obliged to give up their priests, to whom they almost paid Divine worship : and the States, if forced to give up their rights, which they were resolved to keep inviolate.

I engaged this wonderful little hero next day to dine at the Hotel de Prince de Galles, where I had made a party, consisting of the Princesse de Stolberg, General

neral and Mrs. Maurice, Lady and Miss
 Jerninghame, Colonel and Miss Crau-
 ford, Mrs. Campbell, Mr. and Mrs.
 Vanlentilo, the Social Deities of Brus-
 sels, the Count de Baillé, Mr. Johnstone,
 and a Captain Gardener, who he intro-
 duced to the party. The General came,
 accompanied by Madame Bauvoir, and
 Generals Miranda, Morton, Le Fleur,
 &c. We passed a very pleasant day:
 every body was delighted with his
 manners.—But overcome by all his
 hopes in England being blasted—ha-
 rassed and ill, he was unable, for the
 two days he stayed in Brussels, to quit
 his chamber—I consequently never saw
 him till his late appearance in England.
 Much conversation passed that day upon
 the chance that there was of a war with
 England. Dumourier said he hoped

it

it would not happen, for he would not fight against a nation he so much liked. No sooner was he set out for Paris, than all was confusion at Brussels—With him went the hopes and confidence of the Belgians. Commissaries from the Convention came, and seized every thing they could lay hold of, as emigrant property. Even the carriages of several English people, and Dumourier at a distance, Morton began to speak about *le grand moyen*—meaning assassination. There were a set of violent people who proposed gathering all the priests together, and blowing them up. The soldiers became less courteous when insulted by the inhabitants; and the bad effects which Dumourier foretold, from the foolish conduct of the Convention, now began

began to shew itself in every striking mark of disaffection in the people.

— Morton was outrageous against the English; and upon reading the accounts in the news-papers of the abuse given the nation at large, by some of the members of the House of Commons, he said he thought that they had better shew the English, now, in their power, that they were the assassins, which they were all pronounced to be. One evening he came into the playhouse, foaming with rage, and taxing me with carrying on plots. I supposed that he might (as many others daily do) confound me with that person, who, called Lady Wallace, became so noted at Paris since the Revolution, and as witness

ness for Dr. Ryan a few days ago; but he explained to me that I had been corresponding between the English government and General Dumourier. I was fearful that he would assassinate him, or denounce him at Paris; and asked him how he could suppose such a thing? assuring him (of a truth) that I had not received, since I had been at Brussels, a letter from England. He said I had advised all the English to leave Brussels, telling them I had received a letter from a Right Honorable Gentleman, high in office, that war was declared against France. I assured him this was a false accusation. He said, Madam, I can confront you with your accuser—but first let me tell you that the fate of all spies “*is hanging.*” He then opened the box-door, when, I was

astonished to find, that this traitor, who denounced me, was an English officer; whose name I shall, in compassion to his family, suppress—a young man I never had seen but once, and that without my having invited him, to come to a party he got introduced to. When he came in, I asked him if he was a gentleman, how he could act so unlike one? He persisted to my face, in saying that I had said so, and a great deal more, against the French before Colonel Crawford. I assured Morton the Colonel had too much honor not to clear me from so false an aspersions; and, accordingly, Col. Crawford not only went to Morton, to say that I never said such a thing, but also gave me a letter in confirmation thereof. Sensible of the danger of staying in this place,

place, where contemptible creatures, to court good dinners from the General, thus endangered the lives of all the English then at Bruffels, I returned to England immediately. It was then the end of Jan. 1793. Dumourier was at Paris, straining every nerve to save the unfortunate Louis ! and so very active was he, that some of those he wished to engage in the attempt proving false, he would certainly have been assassinated, if he had not fled to his army.

He was now furious against the Convention, for the murder of their King—for their misconduct in Belgium—and for then declaring war with England, at the moment when he had began a treaty with Lord Auckland, without either consulting him about it, or giving him

him any other information of it, than what he saw in the publick prints.— This treaty, but for this wrong-headed declaration on the part of the Republicans, would, I doubt not, have been settled to the honour of England, the internal good order of France, as well as the universal peace of Europe.

As I have not been present at the part which he has taken in the war, since England joined in the contest, I shall delay stating, till better informed of all the particulars, any part of the campaign of 1793 ; of which at a future period, I shall state some interesting circumstances ; all I shall now repeat is, what I have said to a thousand people before it began, that I was certain Dumourier would not serve against the English nation, and that
 he

he would emigrate from his country, rather than be an agent of the horrors of those men who now sacrifice France, by the worst of all sorts of despotism, the hydra anarchy. Having no other motive of action in all his conduct, than that love of his country : equally founded upon the detestation of tyranny, and lawless riot. He has ever disinterestedly fought to make his countrymen happy. And humanity makes me hope, and reason believe, that the veil with which an unprincipled set of men have blinded the people, will soon be torn off, and, reason restored ; and I have no doubt but that the nation will reinstate him in their confidence, and reward him for that probity, wisdom, and patriotism, with which he has ever combated against despotism, and resisted

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the seductions of anarchy ; by which base means he might have been great, exalted, and successful ; but never worthy, as he now is, of their intimate approbation, or the title of its *virtuous* servant ; only solicitous for the well-being of his country, which the Prince de Saxe Cobourg styles him in his manifesto.

Since my return to England I had never any sort of correspondence with Dumourier ; consequently, but from fame, which I never hastily credit, I had no knowledge of his situation.

I was informed of his arrival in London several days before I saw him ; all Sunday, the 16th of this month, I made fruitless enquiries after him ; at last, an
emigrant

emigrant conducted Miss Maxwell and me to his lodgings. As I had been so seldom in his company last year, he probably was ignorant of the esteem and respect which I have for his conduct, which I have not been idle in the investigation of; and he did not, consequently, take the liberty to send to me. When I saw him, I reproached him for not letting me know he was arrived; and he amazed me, with an account of the arrangements in Belgium, and his being refused an asylum in England. He shewed me two letters, which being in French, I translate; one was his letter to Lord Grenville, the other his Lordship's Answer.

MY LORD,

Saturday, June 15th, 1793.

I HAVE employed Mr. La Costa, a merchant at Brussels, to deliver
to

to your Excellency this letter, with two passports from the Arch-Duc Charles, the one under the name of Charles Peralta, the other under that of Dumourier. In travelling through Germany I found great inconvenience from not having taken this precaution. M. De Metterwick and M. De Mercy, advised that I should take an Italian name.

My intention is not to stay in London, being too well known to find that situation agreeable. I shall take a house at a distance from it, where I can remain, and wait the end of the troubles of my unfortunate country. If the ablest statesman in Europe, Mr. Pitt, and your Lordship, agree to this plan, so necessary for my safety and repose, I shall remain in the greatest privacy.

My

My Lord Auckland will acquaint your Excellency of what the Chevalier de Maulde communicated to him during our negotiation. Lord Gower also will give an account of my conduct towards England, whilst I was minister. But it is not alone from these claims that I now ask the generosity of the English nation.

Your Lordship will see, that necessity made me change my name, in coming to seek an asylum in England; I respect your laws, and the fiction was only local. I have hastened to repair it by this declaration of who I am. If my request is complied with, I shall submit to whatever the prudence of the minister shall require; and

I have the honor to be, &c.

DUMOURIER.

T

LORD GRENVILLE'S ANSWER
to General Dumourier.

Whitehall, June 16th, 1793.

I RECEIVED, Sir, the letter you did me the honor to address to me, this morning. It is the minister for the home department that takes his Majesty's orders relative to the residence of strangers in this kingdom; but since it is to me that you have applied, I cannot do otherwise than acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and answer to its demand. Your remaining in England will be attended with so many inconveniences that it is impossible for the government of this country to permit it. I can only regret that you did not get information on this subject before you came to England. If your request had been made known to me before you undertook the journey, I should without
reserve

reserve have assured you that it would prove a fruitless one. It remains for me to say, that I trust you will conform without delay, to the decision I am under the necessity of communicating to you by this letter.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

To

M. Dumourier.

Such was my opinion of his whole conduct, that I should have imagined, rather, that the ministers would have gloried in affording him an asylum in that moment, when, divested of a safe refuge, he is torn by his adherence to what he thought just and honorable, from an independent situation, the commanding of a victorious army of

100,000 men, which would have overrun Holland before Christmas, had he not, from a wish to save his king and country, delayed the attack, in hopes of an alliance with England. His wishing not to become subservient to the unjustifiable excesses of the executive council, when that plan failed, made him quit the army.

And, surely, it is no reproach to Dumourier, that the Prince de Saxe Cobourg has declined, on his part, to fulfil the treaty made with him; which he avows in his manifesto, of keeping those towns of France, that Dumourier might get possession of, for the king of France, to be restored with the constitution. Had the Prince de Saxe Cobourg kept his promise, Dumourier would have fulfilled his.

He

He, indeed, would have merited to be chaced from the haunts of men, if he would have betrayed his country into the hands of foreign powers, to divide the spoil. Had the Prince not receded from his first intention, ere now all Europe would have applauded Dumourier's honor, loyalty, and success. When thus obliged by common honor to refuse to turn his arms against his country, to dismember it, he asked to be landed, with his faithful adherents, in Normandy; where he would have been joined by the inhabitants, and either have restored good government in France, or have perished in the attempt. But this was refused him; and it was common prudence to refuse it, if to conquer France, to divide the spoil, or to re-establish the despotic government of it,

it, be the plan.—Had the restoration of the constitution been a thing now intended, the refusing means so sure to have brought it about, without either risk of being deceived, or the situation of the Combined powers in any way injured, was ill judged. But if to conquer, and share the Provinces of France, be the decided project of the united Powers; it would have been acting against themselves, to have sent France so able a general; who, on the restoration of the government, would have contested for such of the French territory as they might perchance have got possession of,

I imagined that Lord Grenville did not perhaps know all the circumstances of his conduct; I therefore quitted Dumourier to write to the
Secretary

Secretary of State for the home department.

I wrote him, that supposing he was ignorant of the order given, and that he would recal it upon knowing of it, I had taken the liberty to address him, as he knew Dumourier's attachment to England, and that he had been involved in his present difficulties by that attachment, joined to his efforts to save his King and Country from ruin ; which was ever his dearest wish, expressed most decidedly to him when at the heyday of his victory :— and that as the republicans had offered 100,000 Crowns for his head, every other country except England, was a dangerous residence for him. I also added, that Government might benefit much by his insight and information, how
to

to re-establish the tranquillity of Europe.

To this I received an answer from Mr. Huskisson, saying, that he had received orders from the Secretary of State, to see the orders of Government immediately complied with; as no communication whatever could be permitted with Dumourier.

Conscious rectitude made him soar above resentment in this little counter-time in his fortune; he only, smiling, said, the Ministers are much afraid *d'un tres petit homme*.

But some Frenchman, perhaps terrified at his consequence, insinuated under the safety of secrecy—

“ The

“ The better part of valor is—discre-
 “ tion—in which better part, I’ve saved
 “ my life :—I am afraid of this gun-
 “ powder *Percy*, though he be dead ;—
 “ how, if he should counterfeit too, and
 “ rise ? I am afraid that he will prove
 “ the better counterfeit, therefore I’ll
 “ make him sure.”

Part I. King Henry IV. Act v.

SHAKESPEARE.

Ah ! Much I fear these *Counterfeiters*
 have misled the Powers of Europe, through
 their fallacious intrigues, by which they
 sacrificed their own unfortunately deluded
 King !

I told him that if he would conceal
 himself and stay, that he would only be
 doing what many other Frenchmen had
 U done

done, whose characters rendered their stay fraught with all that danger which his probity would prevent him from ever being suspected of any one. He answered me, that did certain death await him on his departure, he would not stay, when disagreeable to any part of the nation; that he ever had respected the English government too much, to evade its orders.

In justice to General Dumourier, and every one who to my knowledge saw him, and to prevent the public from being imposed on by malevolent falsehoods, I shall now state where he went, and who he saw.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, and the Duke of Queensbury, had
a very

a very natural wish to see a character so distinguished for great military achievements ; and I had the honor to present to them this *grand petit homme*, only four feet ten inches high; born at Cambray in Flanders, of respectable parents ; his father having, like himself, passed his life in the service of his country. In his expressive countenance, penetration, wit, and vivacity are blended, with the most open sensibility. Such endowments secured to him that influence over the hearts of his soldiers, that, fired with the like enthusiasm and bravery, his undisciplin'd troops were led on by him with a military skill, superior to that of Hannibal ; and a rapidity of conquest, only to be equalled by Alexander.—Ever submitting to the most rigid abstemiousness, and severity of discipline himself, he rendered temperance

common to his army.—Only once, he detected any theft or depredation among his soldiers. Six or seven of them had stolen some silver plate from a church; and such were the sentiments of honor which he had inspired them with, that death was reckoned not half so disgraceful, as the punishment which he inflicted on them, by shaving their heads and eyebrows, and sending them out of the army as unworthy to be his soldiers.

This campaign shewed, in several striking instances, that an able General makes successful, well-disciplined troops; and that the most distinguished veterans may be sacrificed by unskilful leaders.

Dumourier no longer with his army, they were foiled in every quarter; but when
with

with them, the Austrians in vain fought in the Duc de Saxe Tehen, the hero of Belgrade.

On Monday evening, we took the General to sup at Mrs. Canconnon's, whose house is the resort of every person of fashion on Wednesday nights:—at this private party there only were present, His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, the Duke of Queensberry, Lord and Lady Guildford, Lady Elizabeth Luttrell, Lord Hampden, Mr. and Mrs. Merrick, Sir Lionel Copley, Captain Dalrymple, and Col. Watson.

General Dumourier gave his Royal Highness an account of the campaign; and the Prince, on his part, with that liberality and benevolence of manners, which did him infinite honor, in the
most

most polite terms, regretted that he could not offer him a refuge in England, from those (to him unknown) motives which occasioned the order for him to quit our shores, in ancient song so famed for hospitality.

After supper I chanced to ask after his nephew, the Saxon Count de Shomberg; expressing a wish he were there, to sing a charming song he was famous for.—I attempted to give an idea of the air; but the General saying I had not got it quite right, we all entreated him to sing it,—which common good manners forbade him to refuse. But that song was not the Marseilloise hymn;—nor Ca Ira; although the combined armies, sensible of the power of its charms, have adopted it.—In mentioning the enthusiasm which the pa-

triotic

triotic songs inspired, Dumourier said, that the music was charming; but, said he, “ je chanter l’air, mais pas le sentiment†.”

Next day I conducted to see him, the Duke of Leeds; a person whom I believe all the world will agree, stands unrivalled for public and private virtues:—and to his Grace he stated pretty nearly all I have here written concerning his conduct to his King and country, his overtures and attachment to the English, and his treaty with the Prince Saxe Cobourg.

When the Duke mentioned something of the disaffection caused in Belgium by the decree of the Convention to render it a Republic, he said, I had then left it

† I sing the air but not the sentiment.

to go to Paris, to use my every art to save my poor unfortunate King! and the tear of sensibility and loyalty rushed into his eyes,--those of the Duke's expressed "this is an honest man, he cannot be a traitor."

I told him, to apologise for the rigour shewn him by the ministers, that a report had got abroad, that he had declared he would put the Bonnet Rouge* upon our Sovereign's head, and plant the Tri-couleur† standard on the Tower of London. He answered, "Fidonc, milady! this language might be credited as coming from the brewer Santerre; but I hope my honor, and the birth and education of a gentleman, renders it totally impossible for any

* Cap of Liberty.

† Republican Colours.

person

person who possesses common sense, to suspect me as having been capable of it. I said, that I certainly had very different ideas, from many evident proofs, that he had the most honest wish to enable our Government to suppress every tumult with which the intrigues of bad men had threatened it; but I added, that a gentleman had assured me, he had read it in even a French paper. He then told the Duke, that from the moment the loyalty of his conduct and sentiments became known, the Republicans, both at home and abroad, had fabricated and published, with the utmost appearance of authenticity, every thing that could injure him in the eyes of Europe; and as it was against the private interests and views of the Emigrants, the restora-

X

tion

tion of the free Government of France, it was natural to suppose, that they equally laboured to prevent his becoming of consequence.

And true it is, that a French gentleman of respectable character, who left France in 1792, called upon me to beg, I would tell Dumourier, that a great number of emigrants, *now here*, had sworn to assassinate him:—which shews that the great love of *le grand moyen* was not imbibed by the *noble* Morton, and the miscreants of Paris, with their ideas of liberty; but that those base means are too natural to Frenchmen of either system, ever since the horrid massacre on St. Bartholomew's day.

His Grace the Duke of Leeds,
who

who is so highly distinguished for his political, disinterested honor—and who possesses, so justly, the respect of all mankind—equally the object of the admiration of men of letters, as well as the confidence and love of the honest citizen—I have no doubt, has formed the same honourable opinion as I have done, of this unfortunate hero!

Immediately after we left him, he obeyed the order which he had received from Government, and set out for Brussels; where, I am persuaded, he will receive every mark of that respect, which the Prince de Saxe Cobourg professes, in so eminent a degree, to feel for him. Indeed, independent of Dumourier's honorable conduct and intentions, it
appears

appears to me to be very bad policy, the not offering every encouragement to any one who leaves the cause from whatever motives. Were they well treated they would prove an incitement to others. But persecuted—the Republicans must die hard, and never disunite, since on earth they will find no refuge.

After the reception he met with, I need not attempt to describe his feelings at quitting that country he has for nearly half a century so highly extolled; and wished anxiously to see, as the center of Liberality—Happiness—and Liberty!

Pall Mall, 28th of June, 1793.

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